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Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

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Communications on general Association matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, Friends Historical Association, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

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SPRING MEETING FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE SPRING MEETING of Friends Historical Association was held in the Treasure Room of the Library of Haverford College, on the afternoon of May 15, 1943, at 4 p.m. The meeting of the preceding year had been held in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, affording members of the Association and their friends an opportunity to become acquainted with the great collection of Quakeriana housed there; and the meeting of 1943 afforded a similar opportunity to see the new Treasure Room at Haverford, recently completed, and dedicated on May 4, 1942, at which another great collection of Quakeriana is preserved.[1]

The Treasure Room itself is the building which was formerly used as the stack room of the College Library. The interior has been completely redesigned and rebuilt, through the generosity of Morris E. Leeds, and now contains a large, well-lighted central space, with shelves in alcoves around the walls, a balcony, and offices in one end, one of which is presided over by the Secretary of this Association. Various interesting and valuable

[1] There is a brief account of the dedication ceremonies, and some indication of the size and scope of the collections now assembled at Haverford, in *Quakeriana Notes* No. 13, June 1942, p. 1 ff. We quote a part of this notice which, though written of the Haverford collection, is equally applicable to other collections, and of interest to historically-minded Friends. After speaking of the completion of the Treasure Room, the account continues:

> So the work is done, and so, likewise, it has just begun. The new task of helping the Quaker Collection to achieve its purpose devolves upon the friends of the College, upon the College itself, and upon the Library. Some Friends will now feel that their family papers of historical value can be safely deposited at Haverford. Others will want to add their Quaker books to the Collection where they are needed. Many will also want to share in helping the College provide an adequate endowment and income for this unique divi-

documents are advantageously displayed in show cases. The sight of these documents served to remind Friends, as frequently before at the meetings of the Association, that privately held letters, deeds, manuscripts, and the like, may easily become invested with a certain public interest as the years pass.

The meeting was opened by President William W. Comfort, and welcomed to Haverford and the Treasure Room by President Felix Morley of Haverford College. Thomas E. Drake, Curator of the Treasure Room, then spoke on "The Quaker Collection in its New Setting."

Hertha Kraus then spoke on "Research in the Service Committee's Files at Haverford—A Contribution from the Past to the Future." The files of the American Friends Service Committee, now housed at Haverford, would constitute a terrifying bulk of material to the layman—and indeed to the trained historian too, unless they were properly ordered and indexed. The process of making them available for practical consultation is in progress; and Hertha Kraus has been one of the workers among them. She spoke especially of the implications of the second part of her title—the lessons to be learned from the experiences of twenty-five years ago in relief and reconstruction in war-torn Europe, and drew parallels with the present.

At the conclusion of the meeting there was the usual social opportunity, which was continued as the members and their friends settled down to a box supper in the Smith Memorial Garden adjoining the Library.

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sion of the Library, so that the increased demands on the staff for reference and research help can be met, and in order that we may take advantage of the sale offers and auction opportunities which are always arising. Four items of extreme rarity—Penn, Keith, Lay and Clarkson—were recently offered for sale by a Philadelphia dealer, for instance, for a total of $1815. A London dealer offered some three or four thousand run-of-the-mine Quaker tracts from the Library of Joseph Smith, the famous Quaker bibliographer, for prices ranging from one to three dollars apiece. We couldn't even look at the rarities, and Harvard and Yale, because of their greater resources, had first choice of the Joseph Smith tracts. We should look forward, however, to the time when Haverford's great collection of Quakeriana will not want for lack of funds to purchase Quaker books and manuscripts of real importance. When this is the case we shall continue in the tradition of Haverfordians of past years who built the Quaker Collection to its present position of eminence.

EDWARD HICKS, 1780-1849

By Arthur Edwin Bye

TWENTY years ago Edward Hicks was practically unknown. Today he is celebrated. How is this?

To answer, to explain how this humble Quaker artist was recently discovered, or rediscovered, may be an interesting way of introducing him to you.

First, a picture of Edward Hicks had the good fortune to fall into the hands of my neighbor, the late Colonel Henry D. Paxson of Elm Grove. Colonel Paxson, being an antiquarian, and specializing in everything pertaining to Bucks County, knew of the artist; besides, the picture was signed down in the lower right-hand corner, among the blades of grass of the foreground. Two brief papers had been read about Hicks at meetings of the Bucks County Historical Society, and published in their proceedings; as an artist he was at least locally known. But this picture—it was a "Peaceable Kingdom"—aroused also the curiosity of Mr. Paxson's son, Henry D. Paxson, Jr., who prepared another and more carefully studied article which he read at the meeting of the Bucks County Historical Society held at Newtown in June 1922.

It was not until nine years later that I, myself, saw Colonel Paxson's picture, when, like him, I became immensely curious about the painter. There were all the animals in it (as I will later describe), and the Delaware River with William Penn making his treaty with the Indians, while across the front, like a rug, was stretched a spotted leopard. I was at first amused, then impressed by the serious symbolism of the composite scene, and finally convinced that this artist—if only more of his works could be discovered—deserved wider recognition than he had received. For, up to that time, as I have just said, no one, outside of Bucks County, had ever heard of him. So, with young Mr. Paxson's help, we found some more of Edward Hicks's pictures, and I brought them to the attention of Mr. Joseph Downs, a friend of mine, Curator of the American wing of the Metropolitan Museum, New York. In fact, Mr. Downs bought Mr. Paxson's painting, and in his house it was seen by

several other American antiquarians. Then, when an exhibition was arranged of American folk art, which toured the country in 1932-33, another of Edward Hicks's pictures was included; this appeared on the cover of some of the catalogs. Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., bought it, as well as Hicks's "Farm of David Twining." Both pictures were at Williamsburg for a while, and then later given to the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

The publicity given these two pictures did much to create a widespread interest in Edward Hicks, so that I was requested to write about him for the Magazine *Antiques;* and my article appeared in June 1936.

If I say that my first interest in Hicks was that of curiosity, I must add that I am still curious. This appreciation of Hicks, and demand for his few pictures on the part of museums and collectors of Americana, is in fact very strange. Part of the purpose of this paper is to explain it.

EDWARD HICKS was born in the village of Attleborough, now Langhorne, April 4, 1780. He came from an old New England Puritan family, originally gentry in England; the first Hicks, Robert, was one of those Pilgrims who were left behind when the *Mayflower* sailed, and who came over in the *Fortune,* the following year, 1622. Edward's father Isaac was the son of Gilbert Hicks, a chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and his mother Catherine the daughter of Colonel Edward Hicks, a cousin of Gilbert's (see pedigree at end). Both these grandparents, unfortunately for young Edward, were Royalists during the Revolutionary War; they were exiled, their property confiscated; and thus, when the war was over, their children, Isaac and Catherine Hicks, reared in luxury, found themselves comparatively destitute.

This circumstance had a profound effect upon Edward Hicks, not merely upon his fortune in life, but upon his character. He records in his *Memoirs* (fortunately preserved and published in Philadelphia in 1851) the following words of his grandfather Gilbert Hicks when he was a refugee with the British Army in New York, spoken to his son Isaac (Edward's father), who visited him there for the last time:

"You are a young man, and as you may be exposed to many temptations, my last and most serious advice to you, is never act contrary to your conscientious feelings, never disobey the voice of eternal truth in your own soul. Sacrifice property, personal liberty, and even life itself, rather than be disobedient to the heavenly voice within. I disobeyed this inward monitor, and am now suffering the due reward of my deeds."

These words, repeated by Isaac to his son, remained in Edward's memory throughout his life.

Catherine Hicks, Edward's mother, died not long after her father's exile (for Colonel Edward Hicks, too, was a refugee), leaving Edward, a frail infant of only eighteen months, in the care of their old Negro mammy, Jane. This was in October 1781, and she was only thirty-six. Faithful Jane helped the bereaved Isaac by going out to work for the neighbors of Attleborough, often taking the child with her. Among these neighbors were the Quakers David and Elizabeth Twining. Little Edward so appealed to the hearts of these good people that they offered to keep him with them. Thus Edward Hicks grew up in a Quaker household.

His father, known as Squire Hicks, cared for him. He later became prosperous and was Justice of the Peace in Newtown. With inherited aristocratic ideas, he even planned a career in the law for his son, who, however, was not so inclined.

At the age of thirteen he was apprenticed to a coach-maker for seven years, as was the custom, during which time he showed such skill at painting and lettering that when his term expired, he decided to take up the profession of sign and house painting. Many an artist greater than Edward Hicks learned to wield the brush in this way.

There is a story about him at this age, to the effect that when he was painting the house of a Dr. Fenton at Newtown, the doctor seemed to admire his personality as well as his skill, and offered to find him a wife, the daughter of an elder in his church, an heiress; but Edward refused.

Hicks writes thus about the beginning of his career:

> In the fall of 1801, I agreed with my employer, Joshua C. Canby, to work at the coach-making business, particularly

> the painting, for $13.00 per month. It seems unnecessary to say much, if anything, about my business as a mechanic, for I think it has always been marked with weakness.

Not long afterward, Hicks apparently thought that he could make more money farming than painting, for he tried it, and lost all he had. On April 16, 1811, he wrote:

> In addition to a constitutional weakness, I quit the only business I understood, and for which I had a capacity, namely: painting, for the business of a farmer, which I did not understand, and for which I had no qualification whatever. . . .
>
> Being forced to return to painting, though with spirits and constitution somewhat impaired, friends and others most kindly patronized me, and the county and township officers gave me a considerable number of *directors* or index boards to paint, which to me was a profitable job.

As a sign painter, Edward Hicks attained a technical skill and knowledge of the proper use of colors and media which served him well in later life, for his pictures have endured. He ground his own colors and made his own brushes, as did Benjamin West in his early days, and as was the custom in much earlier times in Europe. Hicks's signs were once all over Bucks County. Every inn or tavern of any pretension had a sign painted by him. Sometimes it pictured Washington on horseback, sometimes the Declaration of Independence. But his favorite subject was William Penn's treaty with the Indians.

It was not until fairly late in life that he began to paint creatively—views of farmsteads and imaginative scenes.

The portrait of Edward Hicks painted by his young cousin and pupil Thomas Hicks, in 1838, shows us surprisingly well (for Thomas was then only fifteen years of age) the character of the Quaker painter. It shows him sitting simply in a high-backed Windsor chair, holding his palette and brushes in his hands, leaning intently forward with his spectacles pushed up on his forehead, as if he had merely glanced up from his work, a "Peaceable Kingdom," on the easel. It reminds one of the portrait of the great Chardin, who also painted himself at work seated at his easel, with his spectacles and eyeshade on his forehead.

Before we go further into a discussion of Edward Hicks's art, let us consider him as a man, a Quaker and a minister, for he was best known as a preacher during his lifetime.

As a boy he loved solitude. This was natural in an artist or in anyone with a contemplative mind as was Hicks's; yet he was sociable, and much liked by everyone. He had a sense of humor which is often reflected in his *Memoirs;* he often condemned himself extravagantly, and in a quaint way made fun of himself.

He was not a birthright Friend, for his mother's people were Episcopalians. But having been brought up in the Twining family, he early had an inclination to join meeting, and finally did so, at Middletown (Langhorne) in 1803. In that same year he married Sarah, daughter of Joseph and Suzanna Worstall, and in 1811 removed to Newtown where the Worstalls lived, and "where," he said, "every tenth house was a tavern, and every twentieth of bad repute."

Newtown was then the county seat; there was no meeting there and the Hickses joined Wrightstown, which was the nearest. In 1815, largely from Edward's efforts, a monthly meeting was established in Newtown, and here he labored in the ministry for the rest of his life.

He traveled extensively; wherever he went he was received by large gatherings. His first trip was in 1813. In 1819 he traveled south, then to Canada, riding 3000 miles on horseback. In 1825, with his cousin Elias, he went to New York and preached there. His personality is described as magnetic; he was of commanding presence, tall, slender, and erect, with dark complexion, striking features, and intellectual countenance. He had a clear strong voice which could readily be heard by an assembly of thousands. There was a charm about it that seemed to electrify an audience the moment it was heard. But, while he apparently had the gift of oratory, it was not merely his public discourse which won him popularity. Contrary to the general opinion about Quaker preachers of the nineteenth century, he was genial, sympathetic, and personally beloved. Whenever there was a wedding, or a funeral, he was sent for from far and near.

But, as he grew older, he longed for retirement and the leisure to devote himself to art.

NOW I come to a very curious and apparent contradiction in Edward Hicks's life. In one place in his memoirs he wrote:

> If the Christian world was in the real spirit of Christ, I do not believe there would be such a thing as a fine painter in christendom. It appears clearly to me to be one of those trifling, insignificant arts, which has never been of any substantial advantage to mankind. But as the inseparable *companion of voluptuousness* and pride, it has presaged the downfall of empires and kingdoms, and, in my view, stands now enrolled among the premonitory symptoms of the rapid decline of the American Republic.

It is difficult for us to understand how he wrote that and allowed it to remain uncensored in his memoirs. For other utterances of his belied it.

For example, one Sabbath day in meeting he ventured to speak of the value of art in life, and was inspired. He felt the rancor of long criticism; he remembered his own former disparagement of art, and became vehement in praise of it. This so surprised the meeting that many members were upset. A committee was appointed to wait upon him, to condemn him for his testimony. In their minds it was wrong for a Quaker preacher, a minister of the Gospel, to waste his time on painting.

This inconsistency on the part of Quakers is very curious. It was all right to make a living by painting coaches, but not by painting pictures, and Hicks's pictures were frankly fantastic.

Not that the Quakers of Newtown condemned beauty. They loved it. Their homes were beautiful, so was their dress. In their lives they aspired to beauty, but of an inward rather than an outward form. They grew flowers, studied botany, read and even wrote poetry. They taught their children to make samplers, to be well-mannered, and to live harmoniously. But to pursue beauty as an end in life! They could not go so far.

This attitude upon the part of Friends in general must have affected Hicks, and caused in him a conflict which lasted for years, but which he finally overcame. He seemed proud to write at last that a fellow minister of the society said to him:

"Edward, thee have now a source of independence within thyself. Keep to thy painting—within the bounds of innocence—and thee can always be comfortable."

EDWARD HICKS'S pictures have been called folk art, and he himself has been called a primitive. Let us see if these characterizations are true.

Folk art is the product of a homogeneous group of people, and is expressed through the decoration of homely and familiar things. It does not pretend to abstract aims, or ideals; as soon as it becomes conscious, it ceases. The art of the Pennsylvania Germans was truly a folk art. These people inherited a craving for decoration; their mysticism and belief in symbols encouraged this. So their pots and pans, teacups and Taufscheine, baby sleighs and barns, were all glazed or carved or painted. Being a homogeneous group, they produced a style, a traditional, easily recognizable mode of expression.

The art of Edward Hicks has no relationship to this. While it is true his farm scenes picture Quaker life, and his allegories illustrate a phase of Quaker thought, he stood alone and apart as a Quaker artist, as a man gifted with vision and imagination.

And what is meant by "primitive" art? In the purest sense it means the expression of a primitive, uncultivated people. If that were all, there could be no such thing as American primitive art, for Americans (unless we mean Indians) were never primitive. They were highly cultivated. Our very first painters like Smibert or Blackburn or Hesselius belonged to the English school; they definitely imitated Kneller and Lely as best they could. Our most provincial painters, whose names are unknown, had engravings or woodcuts to go by. They, too, were following the English, or the Dutch tradition.

But the term "primitive" as applied to art is also used to mean "first" or "earliest." In this sense we refer to the early Italians—Duccio, Giotto, or Fra Angelico—as primitives, although they were grounded in an ancient, highly organized tradition, and were just as much post-Byzantine as early Renaissance.

In reality theirs was an art reaching back in its origins a thousand years and more to the Greeks. Edward Hicks was not an early American.

But when we speak of "primitives" I think we really mean those artists who, untutored in an academic sense, struggle for a new expression with a childlike point of view, and who achieve

results which we admire more for their significance than for their skill.

In this sense only can the art of Edward Hicks be called primitive. This Bucks County Quaker represented a great and ancient culture. Whether he was sophisticated, trained in the schools or not, makes little difference. His inspiration was, in the case of his "Peaceable Kingdoms," the Bible; and in the case of his farmsteads, it was nature, the landscape, the habitations and the people in them. An interest in landscape, in and for itself, never occurs in a primitive period. It enters the field of art history after what we call the primitive is over, for example in the low countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Yet it is just because Edward Hicks had a primitive point of view, and was unhampered by academic styles, that he is admired today. It was indeed very childlike of him to think of Pennsylvania, "Penn's Holy Experiment," as the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy (Isaiah 11:6-8):

> The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice den.

This quotation Hicks put into verse, as follows:

> The wolf shall with the lambkin dwell in peace,
> His grim, carnivorous thirst for blood shall cease,
> The beauteous leopard with his restless eye
> Shall by the kid in perfect stillness lie;
> The calf, the fatling and the young lion wild,
> Shall all be led by one sweet little child.
> The cow and bear shall quietly partake
> Of the rich food the ear and cornstalk make;
> While each their peaceful young with joy survey,
> As side by side on the green grass they lay;
> While the old lion, thwarting Nature's law,
> Shall eat beside the ox the barley straw.
> The suckling child shall innocently play
> On the dark hole where poisonous reptiles lay;
> The crested worm with all its venom then
> The weaned child shall fasten in his den.

The illustrious Penn this heavenly kingdom felt,
Then with Columbia's native sons he dealt;
Without an oath a lasting treaty made,
In Christian faith beneath the elm tree's shade.

On one of his pictures there is a border with the verse put in this form:

The wolf shall with the lambkin dwell in peace,
His grim carnivorous nature then shall cease,
The leopard with the harmless kid lie down
And not one *savage beast be seen to frown.*
The lion and the calf shall forward move,
A little child shall lead them on in love.
When man is moved and led by sovereign grace
To seek that state in everlasting peace.

Several lovers of Hicks's works are working on a catalog of them. There must be about forty versions of the Peaceable Kingdom in existence. He painted most of them for his friends as presents; when he sold them he received $50.00 apiece. He had a stock of animals, the list mentioned in Isaiah, a lion, a leopard, a bear, and ox with great curving horns, a wolf of course, a sheep and a goat, and sometimes he put in a rattlesnake. These he shifted about, so that no two pictures are alike. He loved the spotted leopard best, and often put him spread out on the foreground like a magnificent rug.

The landscape backgrounds are generally excellently done. Beyond a doubt he used the Neshaminy Creek for his river. The Neshaminy is a considerable stream; it flows close by Newtown and is easily recognizable in some of his Peaceable Kingdoms. Near the town are some broad stretches, as well as steep hillsides. But he must have tried also to paint the Delaware; it was only four miles away. The Delaware Water Gap is in several. The Natural Bridge of Virginia is in others and Niagara Falls is in at least one.

In 1820 Hicks went on a trip to Niagara. Alexander Wilson, the American ornithologist, had written a poem called "The Foresters," descriptive of a pedestrian journey to the Falls of Niagara in the autumn of 1804. This poem inspired Hicks to make a similar journey with two companions, Isaac Parry and Matthias Hutchinson. Upon his return, Hicks painted a fireplace

cover (a fireboard it is called) showing Niagara Falls, and the figures of his companions. This now belongs to Edward Barnsley of Newtown.

There is light and atmospheric distance in these scenes, and the nearer trees are painted with a decorative effect. To be sure one detects the influence of sign painting in the trees, and even more in the figures, which are childish. Hicks probably never used a model, but either drew his figures from imagination or from what he recollected they looked like in prints. In a way they are after a formula.

Hicks's pictures, however, are not to be judged by naturalistic standards but by their conception. At first surprised by the subject and its quaintness, we are gradually made to feel its seriousness and its symbolism. We are taken back to the beginning of art impulses, when art interpreted spiritual ideas.

Aside from all questions of skill, Hicks was remarkable. Although a Quaker minister of high reputation, he was first of all an artist. *He used his subject as a pretext for indulging in fantasy.* The fact that his animals are placed in the foreground, and grouped about according to his caprice, while the meaning is but subtly suggested by the little figures of Penn and the Indians in the distance, is a proof that he was interested most in his artistic creation, and only secondarily in his theme. Only occasionally he indulged in homily, when he added border inscriptions to his pictures.

Edward Hicks's farm scenes are totally different. No doubt to him they expressed an ideal of peace and prosperity, but, as far as we are concerned, they seem purely illustrative of farm life a hundred years ago, and as such, aside from their beauty as landscapes, are valuable documents. They were painted in the latter part of his life purely for pleasure, and are, therefore, the best things he did.

They remind us forcibly of the landscapes of Peter Bruegel, with which they can safely be compared. Bruegel was called "The Droll" and Hicks, too, was droll, in mixing homely humor with seriousness. The comparison could be carried further. Bruegel preached in his own way, so did Hicks. Bruegel was amused at the life about him, so was Hicks. But Bruegel was

one of the greatest painters of all time; and no one will ever claim greatness for Hicks, although in his farmsteads he might almost be called so.

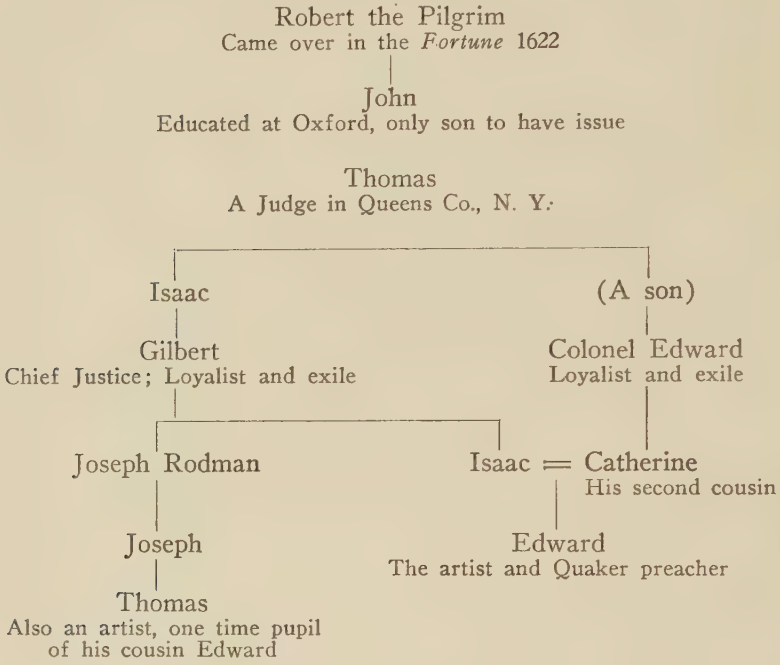
There is a farm scene in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. John L. Robertson of Scranton, supposed, I think, to be the Knight farm, which is his masterpiece. It is a large canvas, brilliant in color and full of detail. The sky is light, transparent and beautifully graduated from blue to rose; the distant hills, the apple orchard, are skillfully subdued. Such light is not the result of chance, or the haphazard though luckily successful attempt of an untrained hand! It is the result of technical knowledge, accurate observation, and understanding of the qualities of painting. The buildings, faulty as they are in linear perspective, are beyond criticism, sure in their outlines and marvelous in their surfaces. Best of all is the charm of the little figures. They belong there, each has his part—the old Quaker as lord of the farmstead, the children, and the guests. They make it a picture of American life which few remember and which will never be known again.

I know of only four farm scenes, and two straight landscapes; they are the Hillborn Farm, now owned by descendants of the original possessor; the David Twining Farm, where Hicks grew up, belonging to the Museum of Modern Art; the Leedom Farm; the Knight Farm; and two of Jordans Meeting House, Buckinghamshire, England, where William Penn is buried.

Edward Hicks had a premonition of his death. During the day of August 22, 1849, he was busy in his shop, completing his final version of the Peaceable Kingdom, a canvas which he hoped to present to his daughter. On returning to his house he told his family that he had painted his last picture and that they must not "flatter" themselves concerning his future, as he was most certainly about to die. On the morning of the next day, he found himself unable to attend meeting, and, during the same evening, he died. He was in his seventieth year.

For genealogical chart of the Hicks family, see next page. Hicks's painting of Penn and the Indians, reproduced as frontispiece, is discussed in this BULLETIN 30:136.

HICKS FAMILY



IN *Old Fort News,* of Fort Wayne, Indiana, a whole issue, vii (1942), no. 3, is devoted "A Quaker Mission Among the Indians 1796-1805," a summary made by Kathyrn Troxel, the editor, from a Baltimore pamphlet of 1805, entitled *A Brief Account of the Proceedings of the Committee Appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Baltimore,* etc., which gives a full account of the visit to Little Turtle and other chiefs at Fort Wayne in 1804.

THE *History of Macy's of New York 1858-1919,* by Ralph M. Hower (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1943, 500 pp.) begins with the Quaker background of the founder, Rowland Hussey Macy (1822-1877), whose early years were lived in Nantucket and Haverhill. To his Friendly precedent is traced his one-price policy. Cf this BULLETIN 29:126.

THE QUAKER-LOYALIST MIGRATION TO NEW BRUNSWICK AND NOVA SCOTIA IN 1783

By Arthur J. Mekeel

THE EMIGRATION of the loyalists from the new American union during and immediately after the American Revolution was one of the more unfortunate aspects of that period of our history. The political situation was the primary cause for the departure of these refugees, but in many cases persons not strictly speaking in the category of loyalists accompanied them, whose motives were chiefly economic. Because of the depression in the early years of the Confederation, the lure of new lands in both the maritime provinces of Canada and in western Quebec, and the possibility of material betterment there, drew settlers from the new states who were not necessarily in conflict with the authorities. One such company consisting of a group of Quakers and their friends, loyalists and others, went to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1783 and the next few years.[1]

The plans for this particular migration were laid in New York City in the early summer of 1783 by a number of Quakers and other interested parties. A meeting of this group, probably in June of that year, appointed Samuel Fairlamb, John Rankin, and George Brown agents to locate the most desirable lands and transact the necessary business. It also empowered a committee of six to handle any complaints and controversies which might

[1] The following books and articles have dealt briefly with this subject: Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Loyalists of Pennsylvania,* Ohio State University *Bulletin,* xxiv, no. 23, Columbus 1920, pp. 101-103, and his "The Exodus of the Loyalists from Penobscot and the Loyalist Settlements at Passamaquoddy," in New Brunswick Historical Society *Collections,* iii, no. 9, 1914, pp. 485-525; Alexander Flick, *Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution,* Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, xiv, no. 1, New York 1901, p. 175; and Arthur Garratt Dorland, *History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada,* Toronto 1927, pp. 47-50. J. Vroom has edited the records of the Pennfield settlement in "A Book of Records of the transactions and proceedings of the Society of People Called Quakers, who have agreed to settle themselves on the River St. Johns in Novascotia," New Brunswick Hist. Soc. *Col.,* ii, no. 4, 1899, pp. 73-80.

arise with regard to these arrangements and to oversee the work of the agents.[2] According to an agreement for regulating the government of the proposed colony, matters of public policy were to be determined by a majority vote of all males twenty-one years and over; five persons were to be appointed annually to settle all complaints, three of them to constitute a quorum; no member of the community could dispose of land allotted to him without the approval of the other members; and no slaves could be bought, sold, or kept on any pretense whatever.[3] At the same time it was decided to advertise the project in the newspapers, and shortly afterward, on July 2, a notice of the plan appeared in the New York *Royal Gazette*.[4]

[2] Vroom, *op. cit.*, 75-77

[3] The contents of the agreement are given by Vroom, *op. cit.*, 76. The list of signers given (*idem*, p. 75) is as follows (the starred names are those who subsequently signed for embarkation to Canada):

Benjamin Brown*	Richard Lawrence*	Joseph Thorne*
Thomas Buckley	John Loofbourrow*	Joseph Tomlinson*
Thomas Buckley, Jr.	Nathaniel Loofbourrow*	Samuel Tomlinson
Richard Buffington	Richard Mathews	Gideon Vernon*
Edward Burk*	Jonathan Paul	Peter Voltma
John Burk*	Peter Price	Jesse Walton*
John Dennis*	Abram Rankin	Joseph Way
Rachel Done	John Rankin*	Amos White
Sam'l Fairlamb*	Gershom Remington	Moses Winder
George Field[es]	Jonathan Remington	Abraham Woodward
Jeremiah Fith*	Daniel Reyepten	Anthony Woodward
Evan Griffith*	William Reynolds	Anthony Woodward, Jr.
Abner Ham[p]ton	Mathias Rizen	Isaac Woodward
Andrew Ham[p]ton	Daniel Southick	Jacob Woodward
John Hinchman	Samuel Stithwell*	Nimrod Woodward*
Joshua Knight*	Amos Strickland*	Robert Woodward
	John Strickland	

[4] The advertisement which appeared in the *Royal Gazette* for July 2, 1783, and which is also quoted in Vroom, *op. cit.*, p. 74*n.*, is as follows:

> Notice is hereby given to those of the people called Quakers who have entered into an agreement to settle together in Nova-Scotia that they are requested to meet at the house of Joshua Knight, No. 36 in Chatham-street, a little above the Tea-Water Pump, on Seventh Day next, the 5th of July, at four o'Clock Afternoon, in order to conclude upon some matters of importance to them, and those who mean to join the above-mentioned body are requested to call at

The emigrants seem to have reached the site of their colony at Beaver Harbor in New Brunswick, which they later named Penn's Field or Pennfield, the following October.[5] The list of embarkation at New York enumerates 201 or 202 persons, sixty-eight men or heads of families, thirty-one women, seventy or seventy-one[6] children and thirty-two servants. One hundred and forty-one were from Pennsylvania, fifty-three from New Jersey and two from Long Island. Of the Pennsylvanians forty-three came from Bucks County (eight from Wrightstown, four from Middletown and three from Newtown); thirty-nine from Chester County, twenty-three of whom were from Chester and the vicinity; eleven from Abington; nineteen or twenty from Philadelphia; three from Allentown; and eight from the vicinity of York(town). The New Jersey emigrants included thirteen from Shrewsbury, eleven from Rahway, five from Plainfield, five from Crosswicks, four from the Egg Harbor area, two from Mount Holly, two from Burlington, one from Kingwood, one from Middletown, and one designated as from Monmouth County. The sixty-eight men and heads of families consisted of twenty-five farmers, four merchants, six tailors, one hatter, one tanner, two cordwainers, five carpenters, three wheelwrights, two masons, five blacksmiths, two millers, two mariners, and one printer. One other can be identified as a schoolmaster.

There seems to have been considerable interest in this colony among the Friends, for a few months later the settlers at Pennfield applied to Governor Parr of Nova Scotia on behalf of five or six hundred Quaker families in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey who desired transportation to Canada. The governor referred this application to the Secretary of State in London,

[5] Vroom, *op. cit.*, p. 77*n*. Governor Parr in a communication to the Secretary of State in London, dated October 21, 1783, mentions the surveying of land between St. John's and Passamaquoddy to settle a company of Quakers. (Governor Parr to Secretary of State, Oct. 21, 1783, *Report on Canadian Archives, 1894*, Douglas Brymner, ed., Ottawa 1895, p. 408.)

[6] One entry on the list is given as "Jonathan Ines, wife & 2 or 3 children. . . ."

No. 188, Water-street, between the Coffee-House Bridge and the Fly-Market, and have their names entered as soon as possible.

giving as his opinion that it would be improper to attempt to take any inhabitants from the States.[7] The Secretary of State supported this viewpoint but advised the granting of lands to any who might come of their own accord.[8] Probably many came at their own expense, for by 1786 the colony was said to have three hundred houses, and a contemporary writer estimated its population at eight hundred soon after its foundation.[9]

According to the records of the colony the government and officers instituted under the agreement of 1783 were continued for two years. At a general election of the community held in June, 1785, five new directors were chosen for the ensuing year, two "Masters of the Roads & Highways," and a clerk.[10] At the same time two days were appointed for clearing ground for a meeting house and cemetery, for which work the company was divided into two shifts, one under John Horner and the other under Richard Mead. The inhabitants also instructed their agent, Samuel Fairlamb, and the directors to receive applications for new allotments of land from those who had received plantations incapable of being improved or too far away for settlement. These new assignments were to be chosen by lot from lands belonging to persons who had finally not come to the settlement or who, having come and then left, were not likely to return that season. The new directors also ordered the men of the town to appear on a certain day to clear away the brush and rubbish, which constituted a dangerous fire hazard.[11]

A year later, on June 17, 1786, a second town meeting elected five new directors and retained the same clerk. Shortly afterward, in July, another meeting of the townsmen approved specifications for a meeting house twenty-five feet long, twenty feet

[7] Governor Parr to Secretary of State, July 24, 1784, *Canadian Archives, 1894,* p. 422.

[8] Secretary of State to Governor Parr, Oct. 5, 1784, *ibid.,* p. 426.

[9] Vroom, *op. cit.,* p. 77*n.*; Siebert, "Exodus of the Loyalists," *loc. cit.,* pp. 512-513.

[10] Vroom, *op. cit.,* pp. 77-78. The directors chosen were John Gill, John Loofbourrough, Joseph Tomlinson, Anthony Woodward, and Elias Wright. The masters of roads and highways were Richard Mead and John Horner. The clerk was Benjamin Brown.

[11] *Idem,* p. 78.

wide and eleven feet high.[12] From this time on the official records of the colony contain little information—mute evidence of its precarious and uncertain existence during the next few years. In the latter part of 1786 the settlement was almost wholly destroyed by fire, and much of the time there was an acute shortage of food.[13]

Meanwhile, however, news of the difficulties of the colonists reached their friends back in the States, and measures were taken to render them both spiritual and physical aid. Early in 1785 the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting sent them a collection of books, probably of a religious nature.[14] The English Friends also became interested in the new settlement, having heard of it through private communications and officially from the Philadelphia Quakers, and sent their Yearly Meeting Epistle for 1784, "50 Brook on silent Waiting, 50 Crooks Truths Principles, and 20 Testaments." [15]

The concern of the Pennsylvania Friends prompted three of them to make a journey to the colony in the summer of 1786.

[12] *Idem,* pp. 78-79. The directors were Richard Buffington, Joshua Knight, John Loofbourrough, Gideon Vernon, and Anthony Woodward.

[13] Siebert, *Loyalists of Pennsylvania,* p. 102.

[14] Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings (hereafter referred to as M. f. S.), Minutes, ii (1775-1785), p. 448 (A). The minute books of the various meetings of the Society of Friends referred to in this article are in the following depositories:

The records vault of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) at 302 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa., J. Henry Bartlett, custodian, designated (A);

The records vault of the two New York Yearly Meetings at the Friends Seminary, Sixteenth St. and Rutherford Place, New York City, N. Y., John Cox, Jr., custodian, designated (NY);

The records vault of the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England at the Moses Brown School, Providence, R. I., Edith L. Buffum, custodian, designated (NE);

The Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa., designated (S).

Photostatic copies of some of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey minute books of meetings in the compass of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting are in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa., and are designated (HSP).

[15] London M. f. S. to Phil. M. f. S., Feb. 12, 1785, Phil. M. f. S., Min., iii (1785-1802), p. 13 (A).

In August 1785, Joseph Moore received a certificate for such a visit from Burlington Quarterly Meeting [16] and was joined by Abraham Gibbons and John Townshend.[17] On his way north in June 1786, John Townshend stopped to attend the sessions of New England Yearly Meeting at Newport, Rhode Island. While there he made known his mission, and the Yearly Meeting appointed Shubad Coffin and Thomas Robinson, Jr., to accompany him.[18] Later in the year the New England Meeting for Sufferings directed the treasurer of the Yearly Meeting to pay the sum of £60 10*s.* 2*d.* for the expenses of the journey.[19]

The following March, 1787, the three Pennsylvania Friends laid a report of their trip before the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings.[20] They had found over forty members of the Society from the compass of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting at Pennfield and other places in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, four or five of them men and the rest women and children, as well as a number of others who went under the name of Quakers.[21] They also advised that the spiritual and physical conditions of the settlers needed the further investigation of the Yearly Meeting in order to render properly the necessary assistance. The Meeting

[16] Burlington Quarterly Meeting, Min., 1770-1795, May 30, Aug. 29, 1785. The records of Burlington Quarterly Meeting are in the vault of the First National Bank, Newtown, Pa., Maude Stuckert, custodian.

[17] A brief account of the journey of these Friends is given in Phil. M. f. S., Min., iii, p. 53. It is also mentioned in a letter from Mather Byles, Jr., of St. John to Colonel Edward Winslow, dated Aug. 2, 1787. (Vroom, *op. cit.*, p. 80*n.*)

[18] New England Yearly Meeting, Min., i (1683-1787), pp. 409, 411, 412 (NE).

[19] N. E. M. f. S., Min., i (1775-1793), p. 239 (NE).

[20] Phil. M. f. S., Min., iii, pp. 53-54.

[21] A report on the visit to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was made by Joseph Moore to the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings upon his return (Phil. M. f. S., Misc. Pap., box 19). In all, 226 persons were visited, 85 men, 55 women, and 86 children. Eighty-five were from Pennsylvania, of whom fifty-one were from Bucks County, including nine from Abington, eight from Falls, one from Horsham, five from Middletown, six from Richland, and three from Wrightstown; twenty-three were from Chester County, including five from in or near Chester and nine from London Grove; six were from Philadelphia and five from York(town). One hundred and six were from New Jersey, including two from Allo-

for Sufferings accordingly appointed a committee to take charge of the matter, directing it to draw bills to the amount of £400 sterling on the relief fund established by Irish Friends at the time of the Revolution.[22]

This committee immediately took action and a few weeks later informed the Meeting for Sufferings it had shipped meal and flour to the amount of £90 by way of New York.[23] About the

[22] Phil. M. f. S., Min., iii, p. 54. The Irish Friends had sent a donation of over £2000 for the relief of distressed Friends in America at the time of the Revolution. A considerable balance had remained unspent which was being applied to various needy causes of this nature. The correspondence with regard to this fund are in the records of the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings at (A).

[23] Phil. M. f. S., Min., iii, p. 58.

ways Creek, seven from Burlington, two from Chesterfield, eight from Crosswicks, two from Egg Harbor, four from Gloucester, two from Gloucester County, one from Monmouth County, five from Morrestown, five from Plainfield, twenty-four from Rahway, twenty from Salem, eleven from Shrewsbury, and two from Squan. Thirteen had come from New York: one from Cortlands Manor, and eight from Long Island, including three from Westbury, two from Oblong in Dutchess County and one from Purchase in Westchester County. Two each came from Nantucket and Rhode Island in New England, all of them several years before the recent settlers.

The localities cited evidently refer sometimes to towns and sometimes to monthly meetings. As far as can be determined, only twelve of the men were members of the Society in good standing, although in several cases there is some doubt. Twenty-seven are known to have been disowned for warlike offenses and sixteen others on such counts as marrying out of the Society. Twenty-two of the women may be classified as members. The husbands of seven are known to have been disowned, as well as one of the women.

The occupations of the adult males were considerably more varied than those listed in the catalog of embarkation in 1783. According to this later list there were forty-five farmers, seven tailors, one hatter, one tanner, one shoemaker, five carpenters, two masons, two wheelwrights, two cordwainers, three merchants, one printer, two millers, one brewer, one schoolmaster, four blacksmiths, one fisherman, and two mariners. Several of the inhabitants pursued more than one trade. Five farmers were also merchants, one a mason, one a clockmaker, one a mariner, and one a wheelwright. There were also a surveyor and carpenter, a surveyor and merchant, a carpenter-boatbuilder-wheelwright, a boatbuilder and fisherman, and a blacksmith who also ran a sawmill.

same time Joseph Moore and William Wilson offered their services to make another journey of inspection to the colony at Beaver Harbor, taking further supplies of food with them. The Meeting accepted their tender and instructed them to obtain a list of the members of the Society, the meetings from which they had come in the States, their present residence and religious and physical circumstances, their prospects of support, and a list of those who had been disowned, with other similar data. Directions were also sent to some Friends in New York City who were assisting in the undertaking as to what shipments were to be made, and the Friends in both England and Ireland were informed of the action taken.[24]

On July 20 Joseph Moore and William Wilson embarked on the *Loyal Briton* at New York with a cargo of goods and £180 in money.[25] The shipment consisted of sixty barrels of Indian meal, thirty-one barrels of middlings, fifteen barrels of rye meal, and two barrels of pork. An agreement was made with Captain Keaquick that if any trouble were encountered in landing the cargo, he would bring it back to New York freight free. Little trouble was expected, however, since every passenger was customarily allowed to take one barrel ashore for stores, and also because the government allowed the people to be supplied, except in large quantities, on account of the needs of the fisheries there.[26]

In the fall the two Friends returned and reported their findings to the Meeting for Sufferings, presenting the lists made according to instructions.[27] In performing their task they had traveled over five hundred miles in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and had assisted eighty-four persons or families: forty-eight at Beaver Harbor, thirteen at St. John River, three at

[24] *Ibid.,* 59; Phil. M. f. S. to Jacob Hagen, David Barclay, Daniel Mildred and William Dillwyn, Oct. 30, 1787, Phil. M. f. S., Misc. Pap., box 19; same to the Committee of the National Meeting of Friends in Ireland, Aug. 16, 1787, Phil. M. f. S., Min., iii, pp. 59-61. For instructions see *ibid.,* Misc. Pap., box. 19.

[25] Phil. M. f. S. to Committee of National Meeting of Friends in Ireland, *loc. cit.*

[26] For Note 26 see page 73, *infra.*

[27] Phil. M. f. S., Min., iii, p. 70.

St. John City, five at Digby, four at St. Marys Bay, five at St. Johns, one at Wilmot, one at Shelbourn, one at Dartmouth, one at Halifax, and two at Indian House Village near St. Johns.[28]

At its annual session shortly afterwards, the Yearly Meeting wrote to the Friends in England on the matter.[29] The Meeting for Sufferings also sent an account of the report of Joseph Moore and William Wilson to the Meeting for Sufferings in

[28] *Ibid,* p. 74. This list is found *ibid.,* Misc. Pap., box 19. According to a report from the committee on the Nova Scotia colony, cash and provisions to the amount of £349 5*s.* 1*d.* was distributed among forty-seven families and twenty-nine single persons. (*Ibid.,* Min., iii, pp. 73-74.)

[29] Phil. Y. M., Min., iv (1780-1798), p. 122 (A).

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[26] Edwin Prior to Phil. M. f. S., Aug. 4, 1787, Phil. M. f. S., Misc. Pap., box 20. Edwin Prior and George Bowne were the two New York Friends who handled the business of the shipments. For invoices of the shipments and the accounts rendered see *ibid.,* box 20. They are as follows:

Invoices of Sundrys Ship'd by Edmond [Edwin] Pryor on board the Brig Loyal Briton. Capt. Keaquick bound for St. John in New Brunswick. Consign'd to Joseph Moore and William Wilson on board—

44 Barrells of Indian Meal Kiln dry'd	£49.10.0
16 Ditto	£15. 1.0
31 bls Mid$^{g.}$ Flour	£57. 7.0
15 do. Rye Meal	£22.10.0
	£144. 8.0
1787/8/9 George Bowne's & Edmund Prior's acco$^{n.}$ for Provisions Ship'd for the use of Friends &c at Nova Scotia	£180.10. 9
Stores for Joseph Moore & William Wilson, including their passages	£24.19.10
Necessaries they provided for Joseph Moore	£12.13. 9
Cash deliver'd them to distribute	£192. 0. 0
New York Currency	£410. 4. 4
Which reduc'd to Pennsylvania Currency is	£384.11.6¾
28 Jos: Bringhurst paid Henry Drinker for necessaries he supplied Jos: Moore	£2.3.9
10/15 Jos: Bringhurst paid Henry Drinker for provisions sent last winter for the use of Friends in Nova Scotia	£28.6.3
	£415.1.6¾

London, pointing out that there were certain articles such as beef, pork, cheese and butter which could not be shipped to Canada from the United States in sufficient quantities because of the revenue laws and suggesting that the English Quakers might be able to fulfill the needs of the settlers in this respect.[30] Accordingly, in July 1788, the English Friends shipped a cargo of food and supplies to the settlement in New Brunswick, which included clothing, agricultural instruments and other greatly needed articles.[31] It would seem that this shipment arrived safely, for the records of the Pennfield colony contain an account of a meeting held at the Meeting House on March 10, 1789, when Jacob Buffington, John Dennis, Daniel Register, Richard Mead, and John Horner were appointed to examine the accounts and proceedings of a committee previously chosen to distribute the English donations.[32]

Despite this assistance from outside, however, the struggling community at Beaver Harbor was unable to maintain itself much longer. The town had been built in the expectation of trade which never came. Forest fires swept the district in 1790, leaving only one dwelling house, that of Elias Wright. The funds of the settlers were exhausted, and their spirits were frustrated by the hardships and disappointments encountered. After this last disaster a few of the inhabitants remained, including the family of Joshua Knight, but Pennfield was no longer a Quaker colony.[33] Some of the original settlers moved to Pennfield Ridge, Mace's Bay, and other localities in the province.[34]

Five years later, in 1795, two Friends from the States, Joshua Evans and Timothy Rogers, visited the district. While there they held some public meetings and also visited the home of

[30] Phil. M. f. S. to Jacob Hagen et al., Nov. 19, 1787, Phil. M. f. S., Misc. Pap., box 19.

[31] London M. f. S. to Phil. M. f. S., July 10, 1789, Phil. M. f. S., Min., iii, pp. 109-110; Phil. M. f. S. to National Meeting of Friends in Ireland, Sept. 17, 1789, *ibid.*, pp. 107-08.

[32] Vroom, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

[33] *Idem*, p. 80; Siebert, *Loyalists of Pennsylvania*, pp. 102-03.

[34] Siebert, "Exodus of the Loyalists," *op. cit.*, p. 513; *Loyalists of Pennsylvania*, p. 102.

Joshua Knight.[35] A small meeting was still in existence, but it had no official connections with the Society. As Joshua Evans declared, many of the people had had a Friendly education but were "as sheep without a shepherd."[36] A census in 1803 reported only fifty-four inhabitants in the parish of Pennfield, most of them Quakers. Concerning these it was noted that they were excellent farmers located on good tracts of land and in good circumstances. Those who left Pennfield helped settle other harbors further west, many of which had already been started, and continued to contribute to the development of their adopted country.[37]

GERHARD VON SCHULZE-GAEVERNITZ (1864-1943)

By Goetz A. Briefs, translated and adapted by Hans Buchinger

THE DEATH of Gerhard von Schulze-Gaevernitz deprives the world of a notable German Friend and of a great liberal.

The British historian P. G. Gooch concluded a recent tribute to his German colleague with the following summary: "In his own country he sought wisdom not from Hegel or Marx but from Kant and Goethe. His last book, *Zur Wiedergeburt des Abendlandes,* published shortly after the Nazi revolution, was in essence a reply to Spengler's pessimistic and once celebrated treatise *The Decline of the West.* But it was also something more—a personal confession of faith in the indestructibility of Western civilization, a summons to co-operation in many fields, a plea for the adoption of the simple life which he practiced himself. Such an idealist in our iron age was bound to be a lonely figure, but he was never embittered by the apparent failure. He followed the light as he saw it and died in the sure faith that it would shine again."

If such was the culminating thought and practice of his life, what was the career that led up to it?

[35] Dorland, *History of Friends in Canada,* p. 49; Evans, Joshua, *Journal* (Byeberry, Pa., 1837), p. 87.

[36] Evans, *Journal,* p. 87.

[37] Siebert, *Loyalists of Pennsylvania,* p. 103.

"As a young man," writes Gooch in the *Manchester Guardian,* "Gerhard von Schulze-Gaevernitz studied and described the social history of England, making Toynbee Hall his headquarters. . . . Even more valuable was his detailed analysis of social and economic conditions in Russia, for which purpose he learned Russian, traveled all over the country, and studied in the University of Moscow. The middle decades of his life were spent in fruitful professorial activity in Freiburg, where generations of grateful pupils came under his influence. . . .

"Entering the Reichstag as a Democrat shortly before the first world war, he co-operated with his intimate friend Friedrich Naumann in the struggle for Christian democracy, opposed by tongue and pen the annexationist demands of the Vaterlandspartei, and helped to draw up the Weimar Constitution. When Germany had to be rebuilt on new foundations after the shattering experience of 1918 he became a professor at the newly founded Hochschule für Politik at Berlin, where teachers and learners of all shades of opinion strove harmoniously for the political education of the new generation." It was in his capacity as legislator and as adviser to the "Fight-the-Famine Council" that he met with leading British and American Friends and entered into a close personal relation with some of them.

And yet the question arises: Why did Gerhard von Schulze-Gaevernitz join the Society of Friends? The mere facts of his acquaintance with Quaker relief activities and of his friendship with prominent members of the Society do not in themselves offer a sufficient explanation. We are at this point much indebted to his former pupil, Professor Goetz A. Briefs of Georgetown University, Washington, for the following observations:

Gerhard von Schulze-Gaevernitz was born in Silesia, a region foreordained to be a seedbed of mysticism by reason of its strong Slavic element and the veiled and brooding aspect of its landscape. This was the home of Saint Hedwig and of Angelus Silesius, to whom our friend felt so much indebted. It was also the home of the Protestant mystics Weigel, Boehme, and Zinzendorf. Germanic introspectiveness and Oriental theosophies of an almost Gnostic character meet here and reinforce each other. As Dr. Kurt Reinhard once said: "It is the Orient which

meets here [in the Silesian mystics] with kindred elements and brings the remoteness of its dreamlike spirit world to bear on the heaven-aspiring struggle of the German soul." The Silesian mystics were well acquainted with the "Inner Light," with the "Kingdom of God within" and its radiant presence over all the world. How different from the hard orthodoxy of the Lutheran Church were Saint Hedwig, Saint Gertrude, and Angelus Silesius, to whom our friend so often referred!

Another question remains to be answered: Why did Schulze-Gaevernitz not identify himself with the German Pietists or with the Anabaptists, for whom he so often expressed the highest regard? Why did one who was cradled in the homeland of many a saint and religious genius, go "abroad" to find his religious home in the Anglo-Saxon world?

From his father he had inherited decided liberal and democratic leanings, which were greatly strengthened by his teacher Lujo Brentano in Munich. Let us also remember that during his student days in the eighties England was a model country to all liberal educated Germans. Thus his early love of England caused him to study the foundations of the British Empire and taught him to admire the work of Carlyle and Ruskin for a better social order, from which his interest never swerved. To a man seeking for an ecumenical expression of the Kingdom of God a provincial religion of mere inwardness was not adequate. The Kingdom of God cannot merely "be" within. It has to be established in the world. Thus the analog of the ecumenical church which the Anglo-Saxon world offered remained his only choice: the Society of Friends. There was the Inner Light, dear to the son of Silesia. There was the happy balance between soul and world, grace and human will, freedom and self-restraint, which found its meaning and immediate application in his own life. There he found established the freedom and brotherhood of the children of God, which answered to his own intensely exacting and personal conception of religious and social obligation.

His ripest thought on the union of the eternal with the temporal, Divine guidance and human action, is laid down in his Swarthmore Lecture on "Democracy and Religion" (1930). He looks back over the road which Friends have traveled and sees

in a good many achievements of modern political Democracy the secularized firstfruits of what was once a religious concern. Even our democratic system itself is but the material harvest of a gigantic spiritual revolution whose fruits were visible to the eye of Faith alone at the time when the seeds were planted. Is it because a substantial portion has fallen into our hands ripe for immediate exploitation that our eyes have grown dim to the vision that lies beyond the perceptions of the flesh? "Western democracy and western socialism are built on the belief in the immanence of an absolute value in each human being and in humanity as a whole—a value which our ancestors called God. But this faith has suffered shipwreck not only in Moscow but also in atheistic Berlin, Paris, London, and New York. The western world not less than Soviet Russia lives on the remnants of the religious past, and spends its spiritual capital which still cements the social fabric. The fact stands that we are surrounded by the ruins of decaying democracy" (p. 80 f.).

But against the facts of political disintegration both at home and abroad—the premonitory symptoms of the present war—he pitted his vision of the future and his undaunted "Dennoch" (nevertheless): "The kingdom of God is coming, it even is among us. God's peace descends like dew upon this poor earth, let us be its overflowing vessel. Let us do our work whether small or great, here and now, without rest, but without haste, as laying a stone for the kingdom of God. Nobody can prevent us from doing so. Let us work, let us hope, let us be silent."

CORDER CATCHPOOL, of England, writes as follows of Gerhard von Schulze-Gaevernitz in the London *Friend* of August 27, 1943:

A GREAT FRIEND AND A GREAT QUAKER

The death of Gerhard von Schulze-Gaevernitz, at the age of 79, on July 17, deprives not only Friends in Germany, but the Quaker movement throughout the world of an outstanding personality. We have lost a Friend whose strong, liberal spirit was needed in the crises through which mankind is passing. Especially in the problem of re-integrating Germany into the world community of peoples, his outlook and experience would have been invaluable. His double qualification for his task, indicated by

the title chosen for his Swarthmore Lecture, Democracy and Religion (given at the 1930 Yearly Meeting held at Scarborough), was a fundamental faith in both these supreme values at their highest.

"It is the task of young Germany to recover faith in freedom, justice and peace," he says on page 50 of that Lecture, and goes on to express his conviction that "nothing stands in the way as much as . . . a so-called peace (Versailles), which every German morally rejects, no matter what his party." He once told me that, as a member of the Reichstag, he only voted for the signing of the Treaty with grave doubts as to the wisdom of that course, doubts which time had strengthened. "To the young German Republic there was given no chance of success with which to win the hearts of the younger generation," he continues; and he saw the consequences with clearer foresight than many. In 1932, when staying with his married daughter at Dahlem, not far from our own Berlin home, he said: "We appear to be moving full-sail into Fascism."

German Friends, together with an invasion of Quaker guests from the U. S. A., England, France, and several other European countries, were privileged to have Gerhard von Schulze-Gaevernitz as principal speaker at the German Yearly Meeting at Bad Pyrmont in August, 1938, the most beautiful and inspiring of all the ten consecutive Yearly Meetings I have attended in Germany. Of the series of addresses which he gave, I wrote in *Der Quäker* (September, 1938): "These were the making of the Yearly Meeting for me, in a spiritual sense. A complete philosophy of life in miniature, they emphasized the wonder of freedom, the healing of silence, and constituted a triumphant vindication of the eternal power of the Good. In spite of all that ceaselessly dins into our minds the fact of evil, our Friend brought us back again and again with his cry of *dennoch!* (nevertheless!) to his own unwavering faith in goodness. What a message for these days!"

In his later years our Friend lived quietly alone, mostly at his home in Freiburg, where he had been Professor of Political Science at the University, whose façade bears in large letters of gold a word after his own heart: "The truth shall make you free." Here an old family servant, who always spoke of and to him as "Herr Geheimrat," cared for the outward needs of the simple disciplined life to which his tall upright figure and keen intellectual face bore witness. A few months before he died, I heard that he still took two hours' exercise daily, and was writing a book for his grandchildren. Let us hope he was able to complete it.

The last time I saw him, he laid it most earnestly upon me to do all in my power to prevent the outbreak of war, which he saw as the final frustration of our hopes and efforts for the future of German youth.

I will, however, close with his parting appeal, not to me, but to the many Friends gathered at Pyrmont, "to continue in the practice of prayer at least twice every day; and see to it that we close in the spirit of Jesus at Gethsemane: Not my will, O Father, but thine, be done."

NOTES ON A TOUR MADE IN 1835

By James Kite

THE manuscript of the following account was found among family papers by Caroline W. Smedley. It apparently was intended as a memorandum or journal, rather than as a letter: there is no indication that it was addressed to a particular individual, though occasionally the reflections and philosophizings suggest that someone other than the writer was expected to read them. The author, James Kite (1808-1856), was a furniture maker, youngest son of Benjamin and Rebecca Walton Kite of Philadelphia, and brother of Thomas, Abi, Sarah (who died in infancy), Mary (who died unmarried), John Letchworth, Joseph, Benjamin, Jr., and Nathan.

The dates as given are inconsistent. The first date, 6 mo. 5, 1835, would have been on Sixth-day, as James Kite records it; but after the entry for 6 mo. 11 he gives another 6 mo. 11, presumably writing 11 for 12; and the next three dates are apparently wrong. From Fifth-day, 6 mo. 18, to the end the dates are consistent.

The itinerary may be briefly given. After the departure from Philadelphia on 6 mo. 5, 1835, arrivals on the dates given are as follows: 5, Bordentown, Amboy; 6, New York; 8, Poughkeepsie; 9, Nine Partners; 10, Dover Valley, Poughkeepsie, Albany, Schenectady, a boat on the Erie Canal; 11, Little Falls; 12, Utica; 13, Montezuma (near the outlet of Cayuga Lake), Ithaca; 14, Owego, Friendsville; 16, Montrose (in Susquehanna Co., Pa.); 18, Tunkhannock, Wilkesbarre; 19, Northumberland, Harrisburg; 20, Columbia; 22, Philadelphia. The account is interesting as showing modes of travel in 1835, and the somewhat superior attitude of the Pennsylvania Quaker to the ways of doing things in New York; and the comments on travel on the Erie Canal, which had been opened to traffic ten years before, in 1825, constitutes a valuable eye-witness commentary on the functioning of the Canal.

The spelling has been compared in proof with the original MS, and may be assumed to be approximately as James Kite wrote it.

I LEFT Phil[a] with the intention of making a short tour to the North, on 6th day evening, the 5th of the 6th month 1835. My first point of destination was the City of New York, for which place I took passage in the car which carries the mail. The nominal time of starting was 5 oclock, but, with American punctuality, it was 5, plus one in reality. The car in which I travelled was a very comfortable one, furnished with rocking chairs, and drawn with regular speed by a locomotive engine. At 9 oclock we took tea at Bordentown, and

reached Amboy about midnight, from which place, at 2 oclock on the morning of the 6th we embarked in a steam boat; and by 5 oclock I found myself treading the streets of the Great City of New York. I took lodging at the American Hotel in broadway, opposite the park. It was crowded, as, I believe, was the case with every other hotel in the city. The influx of strangers here is immense, indeed I have no doubt that New York has a floating population of at least 20 thousand persons. I spent the remainder of the day in perambulating the crooked streets of this modern babel. I found some handsome open lots, which had heretofore escaped my notice. These I have no doubt are among the very best Physicians New York can boast.

7th First day. This morning I took a walk with a friend of New York through one of their *retail streets.* I was amazed to find almost every other shop open, and shoes, hats, coats etc. hanging at the doors. I suppose they are closed before noon; but such a state of things indicates that modern liberalism has made great advances. The malocracy[?], who favor these things, are the rulers of New York, so that all nominal laws against them are powerless. After tea this evening, I. W. and myself set out for an evening walk, which we extended to the distance of about 4 miles. We took a course calculated to give me a more accurate idea of the shape and extent of this great city than I had formerly had. The wharves of both the East and North Rivers seemed to be crowded with steam boats. I should like to know the number belonging to this port, and the quantity of wood annually consumed by them. However great may have been the effect of this walk upon the understanding of my head it was not less so upon that of my heels. Indeed my companion, albeit much older than myself, chuckled a little at the superiority of his New York legs.

8th 2nd day. This morning Dr. M. called upon me with his carriage and we commenced a regular attempt to circumnavigate N. Y. and look at the Lions. We first visited Bellevue hospital and prison on the east river, at which establishments my companion had been Physician for many years, but had recently left it in consequence of Jacksonism having made the birth

uncomfortably warm. The Dr. ran into the hospital with the confidence of a man entering his own front door. On entering, however, I perceived his manner change, and he looked round like one bewildered. On coming out of the office he remarked that he had thought himself at home but he saw no one there he had ever seen before. The Jackson reform scythe had been busy. The old officers had been raked off and a new crop had sprung up. In a few moments, however, we were among the Dr.'s old acquaintances, the stationary pauper patients. They had so many grievances to complain of, and so copious a stream of eloquence to tell them in, that it was slow work getting through their wards. From these buildings which are pleasantly situated, we rode up the east river to Mount Pleasant and Hurlgate, and from thence to Harlam, which is situated 7 miles North of N. York. From Harlam we returned to New York by the way of Manhattansville and Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum. The latter is a beautiful spot and surrounded by splendid scenery. The roof of this building commands by far the most beautiful and extensive prospect the neighborhood of New York can boast. Strangers visiting such institutions are sometimes culpably careless. A few years ago some of them having been upon the roof of this building forgot to fasten the door when they left it. A deranged girl took advantage of this and secreted herself behind a chimney on the top of the house. Being soon missed search was made and she was discovered by some person below, who suddenly cried out "there she is." The moment the unfortunate girl heard this she sprang forward and ended her life and her madness together. From Bloomingdale we returned to the city by the way of the North River or at least its vicinity, having ridden about 18 miles.

I neglected to mention in its proper place an event that occurred this morning. About 3 o'clock I was awakened by a kind[?] of cow bell tingling and looking out I perceived a slight blaze. Thinking it would be out before I could reach it, I laid myself down for a fresh nap. But after an hours interval I looked again and found the light still continued. I therefore sallied forth and steered directly for the fire, that is as directly as a street which alternately bears towards every point of the compass could carry me. I found it to be a block of houses

opposite the Catholic Cathedral in Mott Street. It was a dreadful conflagration in the most thickly inhabited part of the town, for the irish Catholics love to cram together round their steeple houses. It is said that as many as 4 families sometimes live in one room. By this fire about 30 houses were destroyed, and it is supposed that at least 800 human beings have been made homeless. It appeared to me that but few efforts were made to arrest the flames. The firemen seemed to have little water and less disposition to operate upon the destructive element. Probably they might have done something had it not been that they were just then very busily engaged in discussing politics and the rise in stocks. I ventured modestly to enquire of a bystander why so little had been done to arrest the flames. "Oh," he said, "they did not calculate *at first* that it was going to be so great a fire." It is said that the N. Yorkers are a calculating people, but it was news to to me that they calculate the probable extent of a fire, before trying to extinguish it.

The Catholic graveyard being opposite the fire, many of the sufferers, together with the little property they had rescued, were congregated in it. Much of the latter was destroyed but by great exertions the whiskey bottles were nearly all saved. The scene before me was a moving one, and I sprang upon a tomb stone to contemplate the living among the dead. It seemed almost as if the graves had thrown out their tenants, for persons were seen in winding sheets, and others almost in original nakedness. Rising above the grass which covered the tombs might be seen the heads of children of every size, sex, and age, who had literally found the much dreaded grave a refuge and a resting place. There was a voice too from the tombs, but a far different one, I trust, from that which the dead shall utter when they finally come forth, for the tongue of the blasphemer shall be dumb.

In the afternoon I visited New York hospital which pleased me more than any building I saw in the city. It is beautifully situated and well surrounded with shade. It seemed as if some of the trees were the identical fine, venerable ones I had left at home in Independence Square, though Dr. M. positively assured me that they had stood in the hospital yard ever since he was a

child. In passing through the streets I found that some of their places of worship are now built with a row of stores beneath, and it seemed to me very appropriate for New York Commerce is connected with everything, so that even the church and religion must have a business foundation.

This evening I embarked in the 5 oclock boat for Poughkeepsie, at which place I arrived about 10 oclock P.M. There has been so much ink already shed upon the North River scenery that I do not feel disposed to add to it.

9th Third day. At 6 oclock this morning I took stage for Nine Partners, where after a pleasant ride I arrived about 10 oclock. 1½ miles of the distance I walked in consequence of the stage taking the upper route instead of passing the school. Nine Partners school is different from Westtown. There are so few scholars they seem more like a private family. They appear to live comfortably. The little boys in particular I should think must enjoy themselves delightfully, for the wall of their school room, instead of ordinary paper, is hung with pictures of Elephants, monkies, lions, etc., in the shape of huge menagerie advertisements. I found my 3 nieces who are at the school well and in good spirits.

In the afternoon I visited I. Thorn, and wife, who received me kindly and I passed the time agreeably.

10th 4th day. This morning at 4 oclock my nieces and myself went to I. Thorns, who had promised us a conveyance to the stone church, a natural curiosity in Dover Valley. This he furnished us in the shape of a venerable looking vehicle, which he assured me had carried many very good people. In truth it had performed many religious visits. The Stone Church is 8 miles from Nine Partners. It is a gothic arched cavern of great height of solid rock. At the back part the whole cavern from top to bottom is rent asunder, from top to bottom, as if by some convulsion of nature. Through this gorge a stream is continually pouring from above forming quite a cataract when the waters are high. There was till lately a flight of stairs up through the gorge, but the torrent has broken them to pieces. In consequence of this I had to leave my companions while I ascended upon

the fragments. Having gained the top I looked down upon the diminutive beings I had left below. It is rather a dangerous point and one person lost his life by falling from it. From the Stone Church I returned to I. Thorns but had not finished my breakfast when the stage came up in which I was to go back to Poughkeepsie. I sprang into it and had an agreeable ride. My companions were intelligent and pleasing persons. One of them was, however, a Yanke who had a great many "says I's." He told some stories about a droll tavern keeper who resides in Dover valley. It seems the innkeeper, who resides near the Stone Church, has had it lithographed for the purpose of drawing custom to his house. At this the other tavern keeper, whose name is Pleasants, felt the spirit of rivalry stirring within him. So he had a picture drawn of some old rocks, which he called Turtle Rocks, and placed the following words under the picture, "These rocks are supposed once to have been a living turtle." A very consequential youngster once lodged at Pleasants' hotel. He had just a 20 dollar note, and some few shillings, with which to astonish the world. In the morning he hauled out his note and remarked to Pleasants, "I'd like to have you take a 20 dollar note, but I dont spose as how you can change as much." "Oh yes, easily," said the Landlord, taking the note, "and there's your change," pointing to a pile of hemloc boards at the door. "Oh, but I wants silver." "Cant help that," said the landlord, "Hemlock boards are a legal tender in New York, by special act of legislature. Come, my friend, put your change in your breeches pocket." The landlord occasionally gets caught in his own traps. One bitter cold day in winter he had sent a Yankee into the snow to look for some curious machine for skinning cats. The next summer the Yanke was travelling in the neighborhood, and stopping a mile or two of[f], he sent Pleasants word in a great hurry that a man wanted to see him on urgent business immediately. The Landlord was in the midst of his hay harvest, but washed and dressed with great expedition and went. When he arrived the Yankee, with great gravity said to him, pointing to a puppy with a short tail, "Mr. Pleasants, I have sent for you to know whether in your opinion that dogs tail has been cut of[f] or driven in."

I arrived in Poughkeepsie about noon, and half an hour afterwards embarked in the steam boat North America for Albany. We had a fair wind and tide, but went slow on account of the boilers being weak, indeed they were almost burnt through. I find that the navigation of the Hudson near Albany is very difficult. The river is full of shoals. I suppose I saw as many as 15 or 20 boats aground. A house was shown me by the rivers side, said to have been the residence of 3 sisters, each of whom was 7 ft. high. One still resides there, one of them is dead, and the other married to a man 5 ft. high. We reached Albany about 7 o'clock. I spent a few minutes in Albany, just long enough to glance at the capital and city hall, the latter of which is a magnificent building. I then stepped into the Schenectady railroad car, which is a beautiful gothic structure and by 10 oclock at night reached Schenectady. At the head of the inclined plain the engineer blew a horn which was answered from below, and we were about making our descent, when a man came running up to inform us it was well we had not, for something was out of order. We therefore waited a little longer and then descended in safety.

[To be concluded.]

PENDLE HILL has given renewed evidence of its enterprise in the publishing field in *Quaker German,* edited by Hans Buchinger (1943; price, $1.00). *French for Friends* has already appeared.

Since Pendle Hill was active in sponsoring lectures and conversation in German, partly as a way of offering training in the language, one might expect *Quaker German* to be a beginner's book with special attention perhaps to the needs of relief workers in Germany. Such is not the case. The book is a sort of anthology of significant passages, some originally written in German, some translated from Fox, Woolman, and more modern writers, through which the potential relief worker might make *spiritual* preparation for his task, while at the same time brushing up his German. For indeed the selections are such that one would like to place them in the hands of one's non-Quaker German friends, that they might find out what manner of men the Quakers at their best can be. It was a task of courage to attempt to assemble the best weapons of the spirit, appropriate to German readers, between one pair of covers. Hans Buchinger has performed it with impressive success. Joan Mary Fry, herself one of the great examples of close contact between English and German Friends, contributes an illuminating Foreword.

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS OR UNPUBLISHED

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Lois V. Given, 231 South Forty-first St., Philadelphia, Pa. *Friends in Burlington, New Jersey, during the Revolutionary Period.* University of Pennsylvania; History, seminar paper as basis of Master's thesis. Materials gathered; composition approaching completion.

Frank G. Harrison, 121 Fourth Street N. E., Massillon, Ohio. *Thomas Rotch of Kendal.* (His life and the village he founded, Kendal—now Massillon, Ohio—from 1810 to 1824.) Material nearly ready for writing.

Rev. Vernon H. Holloway, No. Stamford Avenue, R. D. 3, Stamford, Connecticut. *American Pacifism between Two Wars, 1918-1941.* (A typological study setting forth the various types of American pacifism as revealed in the literature of the movement.) Yale, Religion, Ph.D. 1945. Research in progress.

Winthrop S. Hudson, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, New York. *A Suppressed Chapter in Quaker History.* (An attempt to show that contrary to the official Quaker version of their own history, early Quakerism was not an original movement and George Fox was not its founder.) Manuscript completed.

Harold S. Jantz, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. *Christian Lodowick of Newport and Leipzig.* (A study of Lodowick's career and intellectual activities in Europe and America, in part based on rare prints and on newly found material in manuscript.) Material collected and partly written. To be published in *Rhode Island History.*

Robert J. Leach, Camp Pocomoke, Powellsville, Maryland. *Nantucket Monthly Meeting, 1708-1728.* (Covers background 1659-1708, and is the first of a series of studies of Nantucket Monthly Meeting.) Partially completed.

Charles A. Madison, 257 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. *American Rebels and Reformers.* (The section on Abolitionism involves a good many Quakers.) Partially completed.

Mulford A. Sibley, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. *The Political Theories of Modern Pacifism.* (Deals only incidentally with Quaker pacifism.) Completed.

C. Marshall Taylor, 140 Cedar Street, New York 6, New York. *Whittier Letters.* (Making copies of all obtainable Whittier letters, either already published or in private collectors' hands, arranged chronologically.)

Frederick B. Tolles, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. *Philadelphia Quakerism and the Great Awakening.* (A study of the attitude of Friends in Philadelphia to the preaching of George Whitefield and other evangelists of the Great Awakening in the American colonies, c. 1740.) Manuscript nearly completed.

(Miss) M. Helen Wright, 2134 Wyoming Avenue, Washington, D. C. *Maria Mitchell, Pioneer Astronomer.* (A life of Maria Mitchell, showing also what she accomplished in astronomy and in the education of women.) Material collected and writing partially completed.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mysticism in Modern Psychology, by Charles Carlé. New York, Psycho-Sociological Press, 1943. 47 pp.

THE TITLE of this book is somewhat misleading. It is not a book dealing with religious mysticism from the psychological point of view. On the contrary, it is a critical study of magical trends in "psychoanalysis" and in what is known as "psycho-diagnostics." It is another instance of misuse of the much-used word "mysticism," in this case used for the magical, occult, and esoteric features which in the author's opinion pervade some aspects of modern psychology.

What the book is attacking is the pseudomysticism in what he believes to be pseudopsychology. His guns are especially leveled against Freud's interpretation of the unconscious, with a scientific critique of psychoanalysis. Carlé claims that psychoanalysis gives only a distorted pseudomystical insight into human nature, though he does not intend to cast doubt on the personal integrity of those who practice it.

The second part of the book deals with Dr. Hermann Rorschach's use of cloud pictures or ink blots for diagnosing an individual's intellectual capacities and emotional reactions. He finds this to be another instance of pseudomysticism, and thus scientifically unsound. He pronounces all mechanistic, atomistic types of psychology equally unsound and he calls for spiritual rearmament in terms of a sound and adequate psychology, freed from worn-out pseudomysticism and in the closest contact with life itself. He finds his constructive principle in what is known as Gestalt, or configurational, or holistic, psychology—the study of larger contexts of experience, dealing with the individual as he is

moulded in tastes and manners and aims by the social group, as a needed counterweight against atomistic, mechanistic, and pseudomystical psychology.

RUFUS M. JONES

John Woolman, Quaker, by Janet Whitney. London, George S. Harrap & Co., 1943. 432 pp. 21 shillings.

AT LONG LAST has appeared the English edition of Janet Whitney's life of Woolman, already reviewed in these pages (31:84). Here one may call attention to the differences and to some of the vicissitudes of the English edition. In British format, the book is about 40 per cent thinner, 30 per cent lighter, and 40 per cent dearer than the American edition. The price was increased twice, a total of 68 per cent, while the announced date of publication was at least twice delayed. This delay was due in part to no less than four losses of mail at sea: loss of a copy of a contract, of a copy of the MS, of a copy of the American edition, sent over for the printer to use as MS, and of a copy of the proof.

The English publisher has thought it best to drop the word "American" from the title (Why?), and to make no reference to the earlier American edition. Instead we read "First published in 1943 by George S. Harrap & Co." It is probably "in conformity with the authorized economy standards" that fifteen of the thirty-eight appendixes are omitted. The paper is thin but the type face is attractive. The illustrations, including the "chapter decorations" by George Whitney, show up well. A table of contents, lacking in the American edition, is now provided, and some errors of the former are corrected. The new pagination means that page references, if they are to be usable on both sides of the Atlantic, must always give two citations instead of one.

As the book has been widely read and already reviewed, nothing need be added here concerning its charm and interest. One may hope that publication of it in England will lead to the disclosure from sources now unknown of new data on Woolman's English visit—so "rapidly sketched" in his own journal, and with such "chariness" of detail.

HENRY J. CADBURY

Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida from July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1766. John Bartram. Annotated by Francis Harper. Vol. xxxiii, Part 1, New Series, of Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia, 1942, iv + 120 pp., illustrated with 22 plates and portrait of John Bartram. $2.00.

THE publication of this diary, not to be confused with the much better known *Travels* of William Bartram published in 1791, is a real contribution to the Bartram literature, since it is largely composed of hitherto unpublished manuscripts. This volume represents a thorough and painstaking accomplishment on the part of Dr. Harper, who has not only unearthed a great deal of previously unknown information concerning

the historical background of the manuscript and its various published portions, but has also carefully compared the accounts of subsequent naturalists of the same region and has himself traveled over most of the territory covered in the journey and thus discovered much valuable source material concerning the localities visited by John and William Bartram on their trip. Many of the excellent photographs were taken by Dr. Harper on these expeditions. It was the reviewer's privilege to spend several days with Dr. Harper in 1937 on such a journey, looking for the type locality of *Franklinia* on the Altamaha River, and to observe the methodical way in which he revisited the places described in the journal. Of interest to Friends in this connection is the glowing tribute paid to Arthur Newlin Leeds, who shared many of these expeditions and contributed much to Dr. Harper's work.

The introduction contains a wealth of historical background and discusses the various manuscript records of the trip, some of which were published in England. The chief source is the manuscript now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Another copy transcribed by Darlington seems to contain some marginal notes by Major John E. LeConte, another American naturalist of note.

The diary itself is filled with errors in spelling and grammar, which have been preserved intact, although some corrections have been added when the meaning is obscure. John Bartram obviously did not have the literary gift exhibited so successfully by his son William in the *Travels*. The narrative is often confined to a mere account of the weather conditions or perhaps a catalog list of the plants observed during the day. Even when he goes into a more detailed description, the sentences are stilted and show the lack of polish and literary training. This does not mean, however, that the account is lacking in interest to the reader. The section of the diary from December 19, 1765, to February 12, 1766, is missing from the original manuscript and has been taken from an account published by Dr. Stork in London in 1769. This section has been edited and the spelling mistakes corrected so that it makes much easier reading.

The comments and annotated index which follow the manuscript text give evidence of Dr. Harper's careful research and throw much light on the text itself. The addition of several old maps, reprinted in the illustrations, also helps much in following the route of the journey. Although the comments and notes have been purposely, and perhaps rightly, separated from the text, it is difficult to follow the narrative while studying the notes without making numerous and time-consuming cross-references.

To the Quaker historian or to any person interested in the Bartram travels and their contributions to early American natural history, this book is a long-needed addition to the literature. We shall look forward eagerly to the second part, soon to appear, which deals with William Bartram's report to Dr. John Fothergill.

B. Bartram Cadbury

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

We collect at the beginning of these notices some of the recent allusions to Quaker Relief Service.

RUTH FRY'S *A Quaker Adventure* published in 1926 being out of print, she has prepared and Friends Service Council, London, has published an abridged edition (1943, 76 pp.). This "story of nine years' relief and reconstruction in Europe," to quote the subtitle, is a theme of real interest today.

SMALLER in size but more extended in scope is the pamphlet by Cuthbert Wigham on Friends Relief Service, likewise published by the Council, of which he was until recently chairman.

ANOTHER pamphlet dealing with Friends' relief work is *American Aid to Germany, 1918-1925,* by Sidney Brooks (Russell Sage Foundation, 1943, 28 pp.), a condensation by excerpts from the same author's larger *America and Germany: 1918-1925* (Macmillan 1925). The first part, dealing with obstacles preceding the Quakerspeisung, finds voluminous documentation in another book, *The Blockade of Germany after the Armistice 1918-1919,* by S. L. Bane and R. H. Lutz (Stanford University Press, 1942, 874 pp.).

THROUGHOUT the last part of *Paris—Underground,* the best selling war autobiography (Scribners, 1943, 392 pp.), Etta Shiber has woven appreciative references to the work of the American Quakers in Occupied France. They begin with her first visit from "Mr. Marvel" on her first day in prison (p. 224).

FRANCES BLACKWOOD'S *Mrs. England Goes on Living* (New York, Creative Age Press, 1943) contains a chapter (xii, pp. 173-193) on the work of Friends War Relief at Petersfield and Bournemouth, as she became acquainted with it during a visit to England as journalist in war time.

A BRIEF appreciation of Friends' relief work by Professor Paul Hazard of the French Academy was published in *Voici,* vol. iii, no. 29 (October 1942), p. 7, entitled "Hommage aux Quakers," with English translations in the *American Friend* for November 19, 1942.

"WE Starve Our Friends," by Howard E. Kershner in *Collier's* for July 31, 1943, is an argument based upon his relief experience in Spain and France with the AFSC from 1939 to 1942.

FRIENDS Ambulance Unit is the subject of an article in *Great Britain and the East* for January 24, 1942.

PENDLE Hill Historical Studies No. 4 is entitled *Quaker Relief During the Siege of Boston,* by Henry J. Cadbury. His original form was an article in the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts,* xxxiv (1943), pp. 39-61; but it included the full lists of the thousands of families assisted, with information about the size of family, location, occupation, religious affiliation, and amount of money received (pp. 62-179).

ONE important aspect of the Quaker work in Russia in 1921-23 is described by Michael Asquith in a pamphlet entitled *Famine* (Oxford University Press, 1943). This appears to be the first in a series of "Studies in Relief Problems" published by English Friends on the basis of their experience.

THE Evolution of the Friends Ambulance Unit, 1914 and 1939, by Michael Barratt Brown (F. A. U., Gordon Square, London), deals with the history of one notable arm of Quaker relief service. This pamphlet is also a reprint, of articles in recent issues of *Friends Quarterly Examiner.*

AS executive Secretary of Friends War Relief Service, Roger C. Wilson is well qualified to deal not merely with the experience of his organization but with the principles—religious, political, and sociological—on which Quaker relief work should be based, as he does in *Relief and Reconstruction* (Pendle Hill Pamphlet, No. 22, 1943, 62 pp.).

PACIFIST Diplomacy in Conflict Situations: Illustrated by the Quaker International Centers, a pamphlet by Bertram Pickard (Pacifist Research Bureau, 1943, 32 pp.), is not exactly on the usual lines included under relief or reconstruction but it is all the more to be commended as showing a social philosophy and technique which are and will be needed quite as much as physical assistance.

PUBLISHED without date, but now a good many months ago, is the account of *Quaker Service in Spain 1936-1940* told from the viewpoint of British participation (Friends Service Council, 24 pp.). It is a detailed account of the development and continuation of work mainly of food distribution to children through four years of civil war.

THE fifth in the series of Occasional Papers is *The American Friends in France, 1917-1919* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1943, 27 pp.). It contains excerpts from Rufus M. Jones, *A Service of Love in War Time,* and from an address by Clarence E. Pickett on "Problems Involved in Administering Relief Abroad."

THE seventh in the series of Occasional Papers is entitled *Recent Relief Programs of the American Friends in Spain and France* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1943, 27 pp.). The account for Spain, 1937-39, is condensed from an unpublished manuscript by John Van Gelder Forbes; that for France, 1941-42, from the report of A. F. S. C.

J. CUTHBERT WIGHAM, former chairman of Friends Service Council, has prepared a pamphlet in which he describes the relief work of English Friends in this war and in the last and treats more briefly of earlier relief, especially in Ireland during the potato famine of 1846-47, and of more recent overseas efforts, with proposals for the future. The pamphlet is called *Quaker Service, Past, Present and Future* (Friends Book Centre, 1943).

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A CHARACTERISTIC spiritual autobiography of a Maryland Quaker is reprinted from a scarce pamphlet under the title "The *Narrative* of Colonel James Rigbie" in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* xxxvi (1941), 39-49. Henry Chandlee Forman supplies it with introduction and notes and adds a further article on "The Family of Colonel James Rigbie," *ibid.,* xxxvii (1942), 69-78. The first James Rigbie who settled in Maryland in 1659 became a Friend. His great-grandson of the same name (1720-1790) came of parents who left Quakerism when he was young. He himself drifted into worldliness after a time of membership with New Light Presbyterians, but the later pilgrimage of his soul led him to become a member and minister of Nottingham, Pennsylvania, Monthly Meeting. His narrative, written in 1760, is unfinished.

"OLD Cecil Meeting on the Eastern Shore of Maryland 1696-1900 by Elizabeth Chandlee Forman"—so runs the title page of a twenty-page nicely printed, illustrated pamphlet. The meeting house ceased to be used about 1900 and was later taken down, but its appearance is shown in a photograph and its site was marked by a bronze plaque on 10 mo. 11, 1942. The history prepared for that occasion and now printed has many details from the minutes and other sources. There is a map of some early Quaker meetings on the Eastern Shore. Since the pamphlet was printed evidence has been found carrying the date of "the meeting-house at the head of a branch of Steel Pone Creek" (i.e., Cecil Meeting on Still Pond) back at least to 1694.

EDWARD E. CHANDLEE is the author of a beautifully printed and illustrated volume, *Six Quaker Clockmakers* (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1943, 260 pp.). The clocks, which he has unearthed in considerable numbers—he has illustrations of 68—date from 1709 until about 1811 and represent five generations in one family, beginning with Abel Cottey and continuing to his great-grandchildren—Goldsmith, Ellis, and Isaac Chandlee.

WILLIAM E. SWEET (1871-1942), governor of Colorado (1923-1924), was not a Friend but he was a graduate of Swarthmore College (1884-1890 and in sympathy with Quakerism. His religious interests are stressed in the biography, *Sweet of Colorado,* by Wayne C. Williams (Revell, 1943, 183 pp.).

UNIFORM with three recent pamphlets on Friends of other areas written by Dorothy Hieronimus (see this BULLETIN 32:33) is one by Ellen Davis on *Friends in Jamaica* (American Friends Board of Missions, Richmond, Indiana, 1943, 40 pp.). While it dismisses early Quakerism on the island in one short paragraph it deals more fully than the 1931 pamphlet of the same title and imprint with the missionary work of Friends since 1881.

WRITING in the *Journal of Negro History,* xxviii (1943), 284 ff., on "Slaves Virtually Free in Ante-Bellum North Carolina," John Hope Franklin gives some attention to the group which Friends held as trustees, thus satisfying both their own conscience against personal slave holding and the legal prohibition against manumission. This matter is more briefly treated though with fuller background in his book of the same date *The Free Negro in North Carolina 1790-1860* (Univ. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 281 pp.). See "The Free Negro in the Economic Life of Ante-Bellum North Carolina," by the same writer in *North Carolina Historical Review,* xix (1942), pp. 239-259; 358-374.

THE *Religious Digest* No. 98 (November, 1943), pp. 19-22, contains an article by Rose Hum Lee, Chinese-American student at Chicago, entitled "Why I Am a Quaker," condensed from the *Friends Intelligencer,* July 31, 1943.

MAJOR John Fenwick, Colonizer and Founder of the First Permanent English Speaking Colony on the Delaware River, Salem County, N. J., 1675, is the full title of a pamphlet by Frank H. Stewart (Woodbury, N. J., 1939, 74 pp.). The career of this ill-starred Quaker is confused and difficult to follow. Here a mass of material is given including original documents, lists, criticisms of earlier historians, and comments on available materials, but it is not so arranged as to clarify the uninstructed reader. The pamphlet retains the type in narrow columns of the *Salem Standard and Jerseyman* of Salem, N. J., in which the material was first printed through twenty-four weeks. This may explain the scrappy arrangement of undoubtedly valuable material, while the addition of an index is a redeeming feature.

THE study of the early history of the Hudson Bay Company by Grace Lee Nute (see this BULLETIN 29:46) has now been published under the title *Caesars of the Wilderness* (D. Appleton-Century Co., 1943, 386 pp.). The limited available information about Charles Bayly, the ex-Quaker and first Governor of the Company from 1660 to his death in 1670, is to be found on p. 131 ff.

HOW Christians Worship (edited by J. Eric Fenn, Student Christian Movement, 1942, 111 pp.), includes with a dozen other radio talks an excellent one on "The Quaker Meeting" by Eric Hayman.

B. L. WICK'S pamphlet *"In the Footsteps of the Early Settlers in and about Le Grand, Iowa* (privately printed, Cedar Rapids, 1943, 32 pp.), never uses the word Friend or Quaker but its reminiscences are of a Norwegian-Quaker community, and the author tells me that nearly all the characters described were Quakers. There are sketches of the Academy near Le Grand and of the Stavanger Boarding School near Dunbar and of old immigrants like Ole Sawyer (1843-1913), Anna Olson (1832-1925), Christian Gimre (1825-1918), and Ingelborg Vinje.

C. GRANT LOOMIS contributes to the *American German Review,* ix (1943), pp. 21-23, 36, a translation of a letter about Pennsylvania written in Latin by Francis Daniel Pastorius and published in W. E. Tentzel's *Monatliche Unterredurgen,* iii (1691), p. 278 ff. It is dated December 15, 1688, and deals particularly with the customs and character of the Indians—a subject on which Pastorius dilates in other letters.

IN an article in *New York History,* xxiv (1943), pp. 358-375, Lester Grosvenor Wells has told the story of "Myrtilla Miner" (1815-1864) on the basis of her own correspondence and papers. Though not herself apparently a Friend, her pioneer effort at Negro education in a school for girls in the city of Washington (which she conducted from 1851 to 1860), was assisted financially and otherwise by Friends in Philadelphia and elsewhere, including Lucretia Mott, George W. Taylor, Samuel Rhoads, Susan Howland of New Bedford, and Emily Howland of Sherwood, N. Y. Her portrait, reproduced with the article, is signed "Thine."

THE April 1943 issue of *Motive,* the magazine of the Methodist Student Movement, is devoted to "Community in Our Changing World" and includes an article on Pendle Hill by its director, Howard H. Brinton, entitled "An Educational Community" (vol. iii, no. 8, pp. 15, 16, 50).

BENJAMIN BATES (1769-1812) of Hanover County is the subject of an article by Edward L. Ryan in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* li (1943), pp. 87-90. This Friend belonged to a family of Friends and mathematicians. He was the founder of a school for boys and the astronomer for several years of the *Virginia Almanac.*

WINTHROP S. HUDSON contributes to *Church History,* xii (1943), pp. 177-194, a paper on "Gerrard Winstanley and the Early Quakers" in which he brings forward some interesting parallels between the founder of the Digger movement, especially in his pre-Digger days, and the early Friends, especially George Fox. He believes they indicate dependence of the latter on the former. He is not satisfied with the theory of coincidence proposed by Rufus Jones nor impressed by the contrasts indicated by Rachel King. He promises to show in a forthcoming essay called "A Suppressed Chapter in Quaker History" that George Fox was not the founder but simply joined a sect already in existence.

JAMES MONAGHAN has contributed two brief articles of Quaker interest to recent issues of the *Proceedings of the Nantucket Historical Association.* The first (44th annual meeting, 1938, pp. 23-26) is on "Anti-Slavery in Nantucket"; the second (46th meeting, 1940, pp. 21-25), on "John Woolman in Nantucket," is based on Woolman's Journal and on A. M. Gummere's editorial material.

"A QUAKER Account of Barbados in 1718," published in *The Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society,* x (1943), pp. 118-124, contains the full text of Thomas Chalkley's account. The omissions from the original MS in the published journal are added in square brackets, and various explanatory data are added. Like earlier Quaker items in the same Journal (see this BULLETIN, 31:94, 32:36) this is contributed by Henry J. Cadbury.

FOR careful presentation of local Quaker history from obscure early sources a model is to be found in the chapter on "Followers of the Inner Light" in Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset and the Eastern Shore of Maryland, A Study in Foundation and Founders* (Richmond, Virginia, 1935, pp. 83-111, with notes pp. 493-510). It deals with the three meetings of Annemessex, Monie, and Bogerternorton (later Mulberry Grove, or George Truett's on Pocomoke), their members, and their properties. There is also a careful identification of persons and places mentioned in that part of George Fox's Journal which relates to this county.

MARGARET BURNHAM MACMILLAN'S doctoral thesis, *The War Governors in the American Revolution* (Columbia University Press, 1943), though not arranged biographically, includes Button Gwinnett, acting president of Georgia, March-May 1777 and also John Dickinson, president of Delaware, Nov. 1781 - Jan. 1783 and of Pennsylvania, Nov. 1782-1785. In mentioning them here I am not assuming their full Quaker status.

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR., is the writer of an article in *New York History,* xxiv (1943), pp. 376-391, on "Thomas Eddy and the Beginnings of Prison Reform in New York," based on his master's thesis (see this BULLETIN, 28:6).

CAROLINE HAZARD contributes a note on Thomas Hazard (1720-1798) to *Rhode Island History,* ii (1943), pp. 59-62. He is to be distinguished from his grandfather and his grandson of the same name. The former sold to Narragansett meeting in 1710 the ground on which its meeting house stood. This was taken over by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities in 1943.

W. L. BOND contributes an article to *English,* iii (1940), pp. 62-66, on "Amelia Opie: Novelist and Quaker."